The Southern PATRIOT

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Why Front Royal Falters

Early Planning Found Essential

By ANNE BRADEN
(SCEF Field Secretary)

FRONT ROYAL, Va. — This little town in the Shenandoah Valley is being displayed as a showpiece by Southern segregationists.

Negroes won admittance to the previously white Warren County High School, but 21 of them attend the 1,000-pupil school alone. More than 800 whites study in private classes set up last fall when the school closed under Virginia's massive resistance law. Court action by the NAACP forced reopening of the school in February, but private classes continued.

I came to Front Royal in the early spring with one question: Why? Why was the apparent white boycott 100 per cent effective?

"It was a lack of organization in the beginning," I was told by several people with their fingers on the pulse of the community. The liberals were here, people said, but they weren't organized in the early stages of the difficulty; the segregationists were.

Warren County has a population of about 16,000. Only 7 to 9 per cent are Negroes.

"Last summer it was about like any other community," one man told me. "You could figure that about 10 per cent of the white people were rabidly pro-segregation; at the other extreme were about 10 per cent who were pro-integration or at least quite willing to go along with the change. In between were the big majority that didn't care much one way or the other."

Today many of that 80 per cent in the middle have apparently gone over to the side of the segregationists — and many of those who haven't are either afraid to say so or they are temporarily riding with the tide.

But, I recalled, there had not appeared to be a complete vacuum of leadership on the liberal side. On the day the school closed in September, 13 white ministers representing almost all major churches in town issued a joint statement calling for maintenance of public education.

ALONE BUT EAGER in their pursuit of knowledge, Front Royal Negro youngsters walk the path of pioneers with dignity. Ignoring the empty desks around them, they apply themselves to their studies. This is a language arts class, taught by Miss Nancy Richardson, right.

Even before that, most of the ministers had made public statements in support of integration. And it was the plant manager of the town's one major industry, American Viscose Company, who introduced a resolution at a P.-T.A. mass meeting in September asking for reopening of the school and admission of Negro pupils. He was supported by a group of liberal citizens, including ministers.

"But these ministers and other people were amateurs at organization," I was told. "They had little or no experience in practical politics. And they were up against some past masters in this field: the Byrd machine."

Also, I sensed a factor that has been present in other communities where segregationists have seized the offensive in a crisis. Because race relations had been traditionally quiet and seemingly good in Front Royal, liberals simply assumed that trouble could not strike here. Like their counterparts in other places, they underestimated the profound nature of the approaching change and so did not see soon enough the necessity to organize to meet it.

Warren County is a stronghold of the Byrd forces. They control the county politically. Sen. Harry F. Byrd, the architect of massive resistance, has his own home and extensive apple orchards not far away.

Word got out in advance that the liberal resolution would be introduced at the P.-T.A. meeting. The machine got its people there. They argued, among other things, that Front Royal should not be "the first" Virginia community to break away from massive resistance, lest there be retaliation from Richmond. The resolution was tabled, 251 to 106.

To the force of the Byrd machine was added, at just what point it is hard to pin down but probably from the beginning, another force with long experience in organization—Local 371 of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of Amercia, bargaining agent for 2,000 workers at American Viscose.

Front Royal is essentially a rural community, with all the conservatism that implies. Superimposed on it is this one major industry, a manufacturer of synthetics, which has its headquarters in Pennsylvania and established its plant here in 1940.

Theoretically, Front Royal citizens point out, a union could be considered a liberalizing influence on a rural community, and in the past Local 371 has been. But in this controversy, it went the other way.

The key to Local 371 is C. E. "Chuck" Leadman, who came to Front Royal from West Virginia in 1940, became president of the local in 1944, and has been business agent since 1946. Under his leadership, the union has thrown its financial support to the private white schools. Without it they probably could not continue.

Leadman makes no bones about the fact that he engineered an 8-minute mass meeting February 12, when 1,000 people voted to continue the private classes after the public school reopened.

"In the labor movement we've had 20 years' experience in organizing meetings," he boasts.

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Little Rock Stirs

(By Special Correspondent)

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—A sage once observed that social change occurs when the women become sufficiently aroused. Gov. Orval Faubus is finding this out.

Mothers, businessmen, and the courts are putting pressure on the governor to open the closed high schools here—and it has become a question of how long he can hold out.

The recent Legislature passed a number of bills designed to slow integration, but it refused to pass a key measure to empower Faubus to appoint an additional three members to the Little Rock School Board.

It was the first legislative defeat for Faubus during the school controversy.

The board is now made up of three Faubusites and three members who favor a plan for "limited integration."

The bill authorizing new appointments provoked for the first time an open Little Rock rebellion against a Faubus plan. All but one of the Little Rock delegation in the House opposed it. It passed the House anyway but was tabled by the Senate at the urging of a Little Rock senator, Ellis Fagan.

A substitute bill to provide election of three more members was killed by a filibuster by Sam Levine, courageous senator from Pine Bluff, latest city to face a school desegregation suit.

All this happened after a deluge of telegrams and letters from white as well as Negro groups descended on the legislators. A key factor was extensive and continuous lobbying by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools.

The WEC was formed last September with 50 women at the first meeting. Officers report: "We have grown to include more than 1,200 members plus the uncounted persons who sympathize enough to contribute money even though they dare not become members . . . Similar groups have been and

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Special Issue

The Southern Patriot devotes much of this issue to school integration because events in Virginia have opened the way for speeding desegregation elsewhere next fall.

The situation in Front Royal is given more space than we usually devote to any one subject because of a partial and temporary failure there. If such setbacks are studied, the way may be smoothed in other places.

For a report on another Virginia community where integration is proceeding smoothly, see page 3. Also on that page, reports on two new books which will help communities planning desegregation.

Be Sure To Join In Youth March

SCEF urges all its friends to take part in the Youth March for Integrated Schools on Saturday, April 18, in Washington.

President Eisenhower or his highest deputy will meet representatives of the 15,000 or more youth expected to march.

It is also important that you return filled petitions immediately to Youth March for Integrated Schools, 312 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y.

A Southern Profile

Floridian Loves Humanity

(By Special Correspondent)

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — Thomas Dreier, St. Petersburg writer and editor, is one of those truly civilized human beings who provide the hope of the South. He is a believer in integration because he is a believer in humanity.

Dreier describes himself as a "vagabond." "A vagabond," he says in one of his books, "is one who wanders about the world seeking truth and beauty and who makes known his discoveries to others."

In a way the sentence summarizes Dreier's life. He has never stopped seeking and never stopped sharing his knowledge. A man of insatiable curiosity for life, a lively sense of humor, and vigorous warmth of personality, he has not only found personal happiness but occupies a well-earned position of respect in his community.

Thomas Dreier

Begining his writing career as a reporter on a daily paper, he soon found this work failed to give him the scope he sought. So he turned to writing small magazines for business firms and eventually had as many as 27 clients at a time.

(This is one of a series of articles on outstanding integration leaders in the South.)

These publications are informal in tone, and Dreier fills them with his good-humored philosophy and human interest. He has also written several books, including "Religion of a Vagabond," "Heroes of Insurgency," and "We Human

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Southern Trends: Review of the Month

One of the worst Southern atrocities in recent years occurred in Alabama. Asbury Howard, Negro union leader, was placed on the chain gang in Bessemer after he attempted to display a poster urging Negroes to vote. (See page 2.)

This outrage seemed symptomatic of a rising and desperate determination among politicians to block the mounting Negro registration drive. In Louisiana a new purge of Negro voters was under way (see page 4). Alabama legislators passed new laws to stymie Federal investigation of voting rights violations.

The tragic effects of segregation were dramatized grimly in two states. In Arkansas, 21 Negro boys died in a separate but unequal reformatory where wiring was found to be defective; in Georgia nine Negro children died in a school bus wreck; overcrowding of the separate but unequal bus was considered at least partly to blame. Both events produced shocked thoughtfulness even among white supporters of segregation.

On the school front, the next battleground for public education seemed to be Florida: as the legislators prepared to convene, there were war whoops from segregationist lawmakers determined to prevent token integration in Dade County (Miami), but citizen support for public schools was becoming organized and vocal. The Virginia General Assembly reconvened, with a local-option plan for school desegregation the likely outcome.

And in Little Rock, there were stirrings of strong opposition to Faubus. (See story this page.)

The Southern Patriot

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How It's Done

Two white student leaders from one of the Charlottesville, Va., schools due to integrate next fall spent a week at the integrated Atlantic City High School recently. They were guests of the Student Council, which paid their expenses.

The Virginians liked what they saw. "We know now that integration can work," one said.

The Atlantic City principal said the visit was not a "missionary movement to sell integration" but a step to promote "understanding among schools of different regions." He said he hoped the program would grow.

Honor rolls listing names of new voters are placed in schools and churches as part of an intensive registration drive sparked by the Florida Council for Racial Cooperation in St. Petersburg.

Council President Ben F. Wyland, an SCEF board member, said thousands of handbills are being distributed to encourage registration. Council members are providing transportation and other assistance to registrants. About 200 workers wear red, white and blue armbands bearing the motto "For God — For Country — For Justice."

The Champaign-Urbana, Ill., Council for Community Integration is obtaining signatures on a statement urging businessmen to practice merit hiring. Statement and names of signers are to be published as a newspaper ad. It's the same technique used in several communities to support open-occupancy housing.

LORD, HELP ALL AMERICANS TO SEE THAT YOU INTENDED HUMAN BEINGS EVERYWHERE TO HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS.
YOU CAN'T ENTER HERE
YOU CAN'T RIDE HERE
YOU CAN'T WORK HERE
YOU CAN'T PLAY HERE
YOU CAN'T STUDY HERE
YOU CAN'T EAT HERE
YOU CAN'T DRINK HERE
YOU CAN'T WALK HERE
YOU CAN'T WORSHIP HERE

THIS IS THE DRAWING for which Asbury Howard was sentenced to six months on a chain gang in Bessemer, Ala. Howard, a Negro union leader, ordered a poster of the drawing with the legend, "Vote Today for A Better Tomorrow." Officials said the drawing libeled the state. After his conviction, Howard and his son were beaten outside the courtroom by a white mob, none of whom were arrested. (See March Patriot). Later Howard's bond was revoked, and he was put to work in chains on Bessemer streets. Protest to President Eisenhower, the Justice Department, the Civil Rights Commission, and Alabama Governor John Patterson.

New Trial Denied

Motions have been denied for new trials for Carl Braden, SCEF field secretary, and Frank Wilkinson, civil liberties leader, who were sentenced to 12 months in jail for contempt of the Un-American Committee in Atlanta. They were charged with contempt after challenging the Committee's harassment of integrationists at hearings last year. The convictions will now be appealed.

News in Brief

Neither academic standards nor discipline have been adversely affected by school desegregation, the Civil Rights Commission was told at hearings in Nashville. This was the conclusion of virtually all witnesses who appeared. They represented Southern and Border state school districts which have desegregated since the 1954 Supreme Court decision. A number said academic standards had improved.

* * * *

The Florida Junior Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution calling for preservation of the public school system.

* * * *

A mob gathered and violence erupted when the George Rayfield family, Negro, moved into all-white Collins Park, a suburb of Wilmington, Del. But the police acted firmly and quickly, and church groups gave leadership. The Catholic Interracial Council of Delaware, the Jewish Community Relations Committee, and the Social Relations Committee of the Council of Churches issued a joint statement calling on their co-religionists to "welcome new residents . . . regardless of color." At last report, trouble had subsided, and the Rayfields were still there.

* * * *

Mississippi State University students voted overwhelmingly, 973 to 162, in favor of their basketball team participating in the integrated N. C. A. A. National Championship tournament. The team, the best in the school's history, was entitled to participate as first-place winner in the Southeastern Conference. But the university president declared that the board and legislature set policy, not the students—so the team didn't get to go. Second-place University of Kentucky went instead.

* * * *

The Virginia Legislative Commission on Education was asked by a large majority of the 71 witnesses appearing at a recent hearing to ensure the preservation of the state's public school system. Representatives of both races warned against any weakening of public education. The Commission was preparing recommendations on laws to replace massive resistance.

Front Royal . . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

But Leadman, I was told, was no traditional segregationist. In the past he had been considered a liberal. I went to see him.

He is a stocky, round-faced man, quite willing and eager to talk, and rather obviously feeling a sense of power.

He was, he assured me, the best friend "the colored" in Virginia, as he put it, ever had.

"Why, when I came here they couldn't even belong to the union," he said. "I changed all that. And when we built this new hall in 1948, I persuaded our white members to accept integrated meetings. I've fought for the colored, fought their grievances, and worked to upgrade them."

I learned later that some of the plant's 150-odd Negro workers complain that they get 23 cents an hour less for the same work whites do, but Leadman claims he has campaigned constantly for their advancement. Furthermore, he declared, the union insisted that the town's Little League baseball be integrated. He showed me pictures of the union's team with a Negro player and of a union-sponsored Girl Scout troop with Negro members.

So why, I asked, does he oppose school integration?

"It's the way the colored acted," he said. "We had these massive resistance laws, and they knew last fall if they went ahead they'd close the school. I went to them and asked them to hold off a while. I told them that would build up a reservoir of good will in the community. But they wouldn't listen."

But now, I reminded him, the school is open, so the situation has changed.

"No, I won't back off," he said firmly. "They never asked our advice about filing this suit, and when we tried to give them good advice on what we thought they should do, they wouldn't listen. Now they're going to pay for it . . . Not by violence, you understand, but they're going to pay."

There are signs that this is no idle threat. There are already reports of firing of Negroes in the plant, with no opposition from the union.

I thought how tragic it was that a man in Leadman's position of influence could not see that the day of paternalism is past, and could not grasp the urgency of this issue to the Negro whose "friend" he always thought he had been.

But I did not think of the best answer to all he was saying. Interestingly enough, this came to me from a white Front Royal resident, who said:

"I wonder if 'Chuck' Leadman realizes what he was asking of the Negroes when he advised them to wait last fall. Suppose when the union was first organized, someone had said to him: 'Now, you've won bargaining rights, you've won your legal position. But just hold off a while on demanding a contract so you'll build a reservoir of good will in the community.' What would he have said to that?"

Leadman's position has led him into some strange alliances. He frankly admits working with the Byrd machine with which, he says, "we have a common cause on this segregation issue." The Byrd machine is traditionally anti-labor. The Washington Post calls it a "marriage of convenience" and comments that "such marriages often end unhappily."

The Northern Virginia Daily, an area newspaper which fans the pro-segregation flames each day, runs editorials calling for "total war against the NAACP" alongside a column attacking the AFL-CIO.

Leadman is aware that his international union is unhappy about his position.

"But it wouldn't be healthy for anyone to come in and interfere," he says. "I'm with my membership, and this is the way they feel. They weren't against the colored last summer, but they are now."

"Suppose you had taken a different position?" I asked. "Couldn't you have perhaps in-

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'Why I Believe in Integration . . .'

Top Pediatrician Says All Children Benefit

By KATHARINE DODD, M.D.

We must educate all our children together, both white and colored, if they are to grow up with knowledge of and respect for each other. If they are educated in different schools, they start life with the idea that there is something basically different between those whose skins are dark and those whose skins are white.

Yet they are all citizens of the United States and must all work together for its great democratic ideals if we are to keep this a country of which to be proud.

Because most of the Negroes who first came to this country were slaves and were considered "property" rather than human beings, they are still considered by many whites as inferior, even now that they are free. The feeling of inferiority is bad for the Negro child, who often grows up thinking that he is not the equal of his white brothers and sisters, and that of superiority bad for the white child, who thinks the fact that his skin is white makes him of necessity a privileged human being.

This is one of a series of articles.

Many parents have been raised with these attitudes and it is first in the schools that the children can learn that they are false. If from the first grade on, the children meet each other and are taught by both white and Negro teachers they will learn that the worth of a human being does not depend on the color of his skin but on what he thinks and does, his tolerance for others and his ideals.

The world crisis of today, when the issue must be met whether we shall decide to live together in peace or whether in our hatred for each other we shall destroy the world, requires the cooperation of all people and an understanding of their many different aims and aspirations.

What an opportunity we have to end one form of the division through the education of all our children without discrimination because of race or color.

DR. KATHARINE DODD, an SCEF board member, is Distinguished Professor of Pediatrics at the University of Louisville School of Medicine. Last year she was named Kentucky's "Woman Physician of the Year," and this year she won the Elizabeth Blackwell Award given annually to women making outstanding contributions to medicine and science. Before moving to Louisville, she headed the Pediatrics Department at the University of Arkansas School of Medicine in Little Rock, and before that she taught at Vanderbilt University in Nashville.

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These Books Help

DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS, by MELVIN M. TUMIN and others, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., $5.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDE-BOOK, by HERBERT WEY and JOHN COREY, Phi Delta Kappa, Bloomington, Ind., $1.50.

These two volumes provide a comprehensive answer to most questions faced by school officials and community leaders who wish to satisfy the law of the land and their consciences by desegregating the schools.

Tumin and his associates made a systematic analysis of white attitudes toward Negroes and toward desegregation of the public schools in Greensboro and Guilford County, North Carolina. Their findings indicate what groups of citizens are most ready for desegregation and which are likely to resist the most—information extremely valuable to those seeking peaceful change.

Chapters 10, 11, and 12 are especially valuable for clear and penetrating analysis of the quality and role of leadership; collective portraits of the ready and the resistant, and implications of the findings. Much technical material is relegated to 64 pages of appendices.

The Phi Delta Kappa guidebook is based on a detailed study of what happened in 70 school districts in the South which had completed desegregation or had desegregation programs under way. Almost every possible situation appears to be covered. Good indexing and excellent division of subject matter make the guidebook easy to use.

Phi Delta Kappa will send copies without charge to persons who can make good use of them. The P.D.K. editor says "Requests from non-school-administrators will be honored so long as our supply lasts, if persons making the request can indicate some official or important unofficial connection with the school desegregation problem. For example, we should be pleased to send the book free of charge to law-enforcement officials, to ministers of the gospel who are taking a stand on the issue, to school board members, etc."

'A Child Shall Lead Them'

—UPI Photo

ALEXANDRIA CHILDREN BRIDGE THE GAP

(By Staff Correspondent)

ALEXANDRIA, VA.—"On the first two days my little first grader came home and told me about what 'they' did in school, by the third day he was talking about what 'we' did. I knew then he was happy and adjusted."

Thus does Mrs. Edith Turner, mother of three of the Negro children who enrolled in previously segregated schools in Alexandria, describe the beginning of integration here.

It was the same with her other two children, one of whom, Kathryn, is pictured above saying goodbye to friendly white classmates. It was the same with all of the nine Negroes who pioneered in Alexandria, two of them high school students and seven elementary.

This happened about 70 miles from Front Royal, Va. (See story on page 1 and to the left.)

A number of the Negro pupils in Alexandria have been elected by classmates to various class committees. Eddie Ragland, one of the high school youngsters, was asked to serve as home room president. He refused because he said he thought he was too new.

It was the president of the school's senior class and an outstanding athlete, Mike Vopatek, who took young Ragland under his wing and showed him to the boys' locker room when he got lost on the first day he attended the school. Vopatek is the son of a naval officer.

"I know how he felt," he said. "I attended school in Hawaii for two years, and I was one of a very few white students in the school."

Another outstanding Alexandria senior commented: "I share with many of my fellow students a great deal of respect and admiration for the two new students."

The peaceful transition in Alexandria was not because that community does not have its pro-segregation sentiments. Residents point out that most of the political leaders are segregationists.

Churches and many individuals worked to prepare the way; an Alexandria Council on Human Relations had made itself felt in the community; P.T.A. groups at two of the three desegregating schools sent out letters asking cooperation. Officials and the public insisted on law and order.

"Mostly, I think it was a matter of people's natural good will — especially the children's—asserting itself when it had a chance," one white Alexandrian summed it up.

This does not mean all problems are solved. There is still strong opposition to integration among many citizens, and Negro parents encounter some expressions of hostility. But at least, because a start has been made, the children themselves are having a chance to work it out.

It is a repeat performance of the successful Norfolk and Arlington stories, where the beginning of integration, although token, is proceeding well. There are sociological differences of course between these and some other Virginia communities.

But there is little reason to think children differ much, no matter where they live; it could have happened in Front Royal too, if it hadn't been for the massive resistance laws that closed the school last fall—and if the children themselves had had half a chance.

Virginia: 1959

We're off to school! Black and white assemble!
We'll lead the way—while our Leaders tremble.
We'll risk contempt to get educated
In th' Old Dominion, so long outdated.
Her mental food seems not to nourish;
Her Almond-tree seems not to flourish
Massive Resistance?—No, Faint Compliance.
The Law, it seems, won't brook defiance.

When we kids outgrow this ignominy,
Don't carry us back to Old Virginny!

—Park Jerauld White, M.D.

(Prompted by an editorial, "The South Begins a Strategic Retreat," in I. F. Stone's Weekly, February 9, 1959.)

....And Why It Falters

(Continued from Page 2)

fluenced them the other way?" Someone else in Front Royal had told me it was highly probable that if Leadman had gone the other way the whole story would have been different.

"No indeed," he answered quickly. "I would have been classed right with the colored."

Leadman had built great prestige in the community over the years. In the beginning union members were hated outcasts. But in time the union gained respect, richly deserved, by participating in community projects. Leadman had pulled himself up by his bootstraps. He was not about to risk ostracism again.

Thinking of his paternalism, I asked him: "You say you were a friend to Negroes, but tell me—did you really feel they were your equal?"

"Well now," he replied, "I don't feel I'm better than anyone, but I do think the colored man should earn the right to sit down by the white man."

I thought of this later when I met some of the Negro students. Assuming the ridiculous notion that any human being must "earn" the right to equality with any other, I wondered if it were not the whites who should perhaps earn the right to sit by these youngsters.

They had just come in from school when I met them. They were all eager, lively, attractive boys and girls, filled with enthusiasm about their day's studies.

These students went to the NAACP last year to seek help in entering Warren High because the county had no high school for Negroes. They were being transported 25 to 50 miles to schools in other counties. Some went to Manassas, where they had to board and come home only on week ends; others to Berryville, from which they often got home after dark.

With me when I met them were Mrs. Barbara Marx, chairman of the Virginia NAACP's Seventh District, who has been a tower of strength to them, and Mrs. Burma Whitted, co-chairman of a Washington committee which helped get them into Washington schools while the Front Royal school was closed (See February Patriot). The Washington group was assisted in this project by a committee of the Virginia Council on Human Relations chaired by Dr. E. B. Henderson.

Mrs. Whitted became like a mother to the children. Some of them had had tests the day we visited them and they eagerly showed Mrs. Whitted papers graded with A's and B's.

"We miss the competition of being in a big class," one said. "But we're getting good instruction, and we're determined we're going to get the most we can out of it."

It was the lonely path of the pioneers they were walking, and they were walking it with dignity.

And what of the future? What of the out-organized liberals of Front Royal?

They are still here. They have not given up. There were quiet but diligent efforts to get some white children to enroll in Warren High after it opened. But many of the best students, and those most likely to be independent, had been sent to schools in other communities where tuitions had already been paid for the year.

THE VIRGINIA FLAG flies for the first time over the Warren County High School. But there is hope in the fact that the American flag is still on top—and Negro students are inside.

In other cases, white students in the private school in Front Royal wanted to transfer back but parents wouldn't let them; on the other hand, the children of some parents who wanted them to transfer refused to do so, with the teenager's fear of non-conformity. Subtle pressure was applied by private school officials, who told the students that once they left they could never come back.

Then all such efforts were stymied when the School Board cut off any further registration for this school year. This also had the effect of keeping out additional Negroes who wanted to transfer from Berryville.

White ministers and a number of church laymen continue to work. The Rev. Paul Stagg, pastor of First Baptist Church, has been the main spokesman for the white ministers, and he has borne the brunt of the abuse.

He receives threatening letters and phone calls, and some of his members have withdrawn support from his church. But a petition to oust him failed, and he continues to preach against segregation.

A liberal weekly paper, the Warren Sentinel, continues to editorialize in support of public education. Its circulation has not fallen appreciably.

When I was in Front Royal, segregationist forces had just presented a petition bearing 3,000 names, many of them duplications, asking the County Board of Supervisors to cut off funds to integrated schools.

But liberals were proud of the fact that over 125 letters had already gone to the supervisors supporting public schools, and they were continuing to come in. Liberals point out that it takes more interest and concern to buck the tide and write an individual letter than to sign a steam-rollered petition. A Warren Committee for Public Schools had over 200 members by early March and was continuing to grow.

In numbers, it does not yet match the strength of the segregationists, and one white man commented: "All we have on our side is God, the Supreme Court, and Mr. Hill." (Oliver Hill, NAACP attorney in Virginia.)

However, in other communities, it has often happened that these assets, plus courage and determination, have enabled the liberal forces—although they are slower to organize than the opposition—to win in the long pull.

Back These Bills

An important bill, S. 1199 introduced by U. S. Senator William Langer, would make it a Federal offense to discriminate against members of the armed forces in public or semi-public places and transportation facilities.

The Negro press says it "plucks the heart out of segregation." Possible progress in Southern communities is obvious.

There's a companion measure in the House. Write your senators and congressman.

Useful Booklet

An excellent congressional-directory pamphlet, listing all committee assignments, has been published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation. It's available for 10c from SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.